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DEPT FOR A AND WE, VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE FOR
CAPTAIN HOWE

E.O. 11652: N/A (DECONTROL MARCH 23,1976)

TAGS: OVIP (NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER) FR

SUBJECT: DRAFT SPEECH FOR BICENTENNIAL DINNER -
MARCH 22

1. LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: AT THIS UNIQUE JUNCTURE IN AMERICAN HISTORY, AS THE UNITED STATES STARTS THE COUNT-DOWN ON ITS BICENTENNIAL, I AM PARTICULARLY PLEASED TO BE IN FRANCE. FOR WITHOUT AMERICA'S FIRST "FRENCH CONNECTION" -- IF ONE CAN SO BREEZILY TERM LAFAYETTE; ROCHAMBEAU AND HIS 5000-MAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE; ADMIRAL DE GRASSE AND HIS FLEET OF 28 SHIPS; AND THE FULL RANGE OF MATERIAL AND DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT WHICH FLOWED FROM ALLIANCE WITH THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY'S FOREMOST MILITARY AND FINANCIAL POWER -- THERE MIGHT BE VERY LITTLE TO CELEBRATE NEXT JULY FOURTH. I WOULD HAVE CONSIDERED MY OWN OBSERVANCE OF AMERICA'S TWO-HUNDREDTH BIRTHDAY INCOMPLETE WITHOUT THIS OPPORTUNITY TO PAY HOMMAGE TO OUR OLDEST ALLY ON HER OWN SOIL.

2. IN OUR LIFETIME THERE WILL BE NO MORE FITTING TIME TO PONDER AND QUESTION THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE THAN THE MONTHS AHEAD, AS THE UNITED STATES

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CROSSES THE THRESHOLD BETWEEN ITS SECOND AND THIRD

CENTURIES AS A NATION.

3. MOST AMERICANS ARE AGREED THAT THE BICENTENNIAL SHOULD NOT BE A TIME OF FACILE SELF-CONGRATULATION AND COSY NOSTALGIA -- A CONTEMPLATION OF OUR PAST THROUGH A ROSE-COLORED REAR-VIEW MIRROR. WE BELIEVE THAT, LIKE THE GETTYSBURG MEMORIAL SERVICE WAS FOR LINCOLN, IT SHOULD BE AN OCCASION FOR STOCK-TAKING AND RE-DEDICATION; A TIME WHEN WE ASK OURSELVES: "WHERE ARE WE? HOW DID WE GET HERE? WHAT HAVE WE ACHIEVED? TO WHAT SHOULD WE ASPIRE?" AND I BELIEVE THAT OUR OLDEST ALLY ALSO DESERVES ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS. FOR FRANCE IS DUE AN ACCOUNTING ON HER TWO-CENTURIES-OLD INVESTMENT IN AMERICA -- WHICH WAS HER FIRST DOWNPAYMENT ON LIBERTE, EGALITE AND FRATERNITE.

4. TO GAIN AN ARBITRARY VANTAGE POINT ON THE QUESTION -- "HOW DID WE GET HERE?" -- LET'S FLIP BACK THE PAGES OF OUR AMERICAN HISTORY BOOK EXACTLY 200 YEARS TO THE DAY -- TO MARCH 22,1776. IT'S A FRIDAY. -- IN PHILADELPHIA DEBATE IN THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS FOCUSSES ON A PROPOSAL BY GEORGE WYTHE AND RICHARD HENRY LEE OF VIRGINIA TO DECLARE KING GEORGE THE "AUTHOR OF OUR MISERIES" INSTEAD OF HIS MINISTRY. THE 'DOVES' OPPOSE, ARGUING THAT SUCH A DECLARATION WOULD SEVER THE COLONIES FOREVER FROM THE BRITISH CROWN -- OR THE "BRITISH HALF-CROWN" AS THE 'HAWKS' DELIGHT IN CALLING SLOW-WITTED GEORGE THIRD. AFTER FOUR HOURS OF DELIBERATION, MARYLAND VETOES THE PROPOSITION. -- IN LONDON KING GEORGE ISSUES A PROCLAMATION OFFERING BOUNTIES TO NAVAL ENLISTEES AND REJECTS AN APPEAL FROM THE LORD MAYOR AND COMMON COUNCIL OF LONDON TO MODIFY HIS POLICIES TOWARDS THE AMERICANS. -- AT MONTICELLO THOMAS JEFFERSON IS LOOKING AFTER HIS AILING WIFE AND DYING MOTHER. IT IS ONLY TWO MONTHS LATER, AFTER HIS MOTHER'S DEATH, THAT HE WILL RETURN TO PHILADELPHIA AND THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS TO WRITE THE DOCUMENT THAT WILL ENRICH EIGHT GENERATIONS OF FIREWORKS MANUFACTURERS.

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-- WHAT BENJAMIN FRANKLIN IS DOING ON THIS PARTICULAR FRIDAY IN MARCH IS NOT, TO MY KNOWLEDGE, RECORDED. FRANKLIN HAD RETIRED FROM HIS PRINTING BUSINESS 28 YEARS EARLIER, AT THE AGE OF 42. "I FLATTERED MYSELF," FRANKLIN WROTE IN EXPLANATION, "THAT BY THE SUFFICIENT THO' MODERATE FORTUNE I HAD ACQUIRED, I HAD SECURED LEISURE DURING THE REST OF MY LIFE FOR PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES AND AMUSEMENTS." NOW AT AGE 70,

-- AND HE HAD BEEN NEITHER RETIRED NOR RETIRING DURING
THE INTERVENING YEARS -- HE WAS MOLDING HIMSELF INTO

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THE HISTORICAL ACHETYPE OF THE SENIOR CITIZEN AS
REVOLUTIONARY.

-- THE MOST DISCUSSED BOOK OF THE DAY, BOTH WITHIN
AND WITHOUT THE HALLS OF CONGRESS, REMAINED COMMON
SENSE, WHICH IN THE ELEVEN WEEKS SINCE ITS PUBLICATION
HAD FOUND ITS WAY, BY MULE BACK, RIVER BARGE, OR MAIL
COACH INTO ALMOST EVERY LITERATE COMMUNITY IN THE
COLONIES. TOM PAINE'S FIERY MANIFESTO, MASQUERADING
BEHIND ITS DECEPTIVELY MILD TITLE, WENT ON TO BECOME
THE GREATEST PER CAPITA BEST SELLER IN AMERICAN
PUBLISHING HISTORY. BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR 1776
SOME 120,000 COPIES HAD COME OFF THE LABORIOUS HAND
PRESSES OF THE DAY, THE EQUIVALENT OF MORE THAN
8,000,000 COPIES IN THE FIRST YEAR OF SALE OF A BOOK
PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY.

-- THERE IS ANOTHER GROUP OF COLONISTS WHOSE ACTIVITIES
ON THIS DATE WERE MUCH TOO VARIED TO RECOUNT, THE
DESCENDANTS OF THE HUGUENOTS WHO IMMIGRATED TO NORTH
AMERICA FOLLOWING THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF
NANTES. THIS TRANSFUSION OF FRENCH BLOOD BEQUEATHED
TO THE UNITED STATES A HERITAGE OF TALENT, ENERGY

AND LEADERSHIP FAR DISPROPORTIONATE TO THE HUGUENOT
SETTLERS' RELATIVELY SMALL NUMBER. FROM THEIR
DESCENDANTS EMERGED MANY OF THE LEADERS OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY AND POST-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD, INCLUDING:
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ALEXANDER HAMILTON, JOHN JAY, JAMES BOWDOIN, GOUVERNEUR
MORRIS AND PAUL REVERE. WE CAN ASSUME THAT ON MARCH 22,
1776 THEY WERE EACH IN HIS WAY -- IN SILVER SMITHY,
CLASS ROOM OR LAW OFFICE -- CONTRIBUTING THEIR SKILLS
AND ENERGIES TO THE MATERIAL AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE
OF THE COLONIES.

5. BUT HOWEVER FASCINATING WE FIND THIS TWO-
CENTURIES-OLD SNAPSHOT OF A DAY IN THE LIFE OF THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION, WE KNOW THAT AMERICAN INDEPEN-
DENCE WAS NOT BORN IN A SINGLE DAY. NOT EVEN ON
JULY 4, 1776, WHEN JOHN HANCOCK AND HIS CO-SIGNERS
PROCLAIMED THE "UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE 13 UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA" AS THE LIBERTY BELL TOLLED FROM
PHILADELPHIA'S INDEPENDENCE HALL. ON JULY 4, 1776
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE WAS STILL JUST A "SCRAP OF PAPER."
IT TOOK FIVE YEARS OF BATTLES -- MORE LOST THAN WON;
FIVE YEARS OF LONG MARCHES AND LONGER RETREATS; IT
TOOK GEORGE WASHINGTON AND HIS MOTLEY TROOPS; IT TOOK
BETSY ROSS, NATHAN HALE, AND A COUPLE OF GOOD MARCHING
TUNES LIKE "YANKEE DOODLE DANDY" AND "THE GIRL I LEFT
BEHIND ME" -- THE MYTHS AND MELODIES THAT EVERY NATION
AT WAR MUST HAVE TO SUSTAIN MORALE; IT TOOK THE GROWING
SENSE OF UNITY FORGED IN THE COMMON STRUGGLE. AND IT
TOOK ABOVE ALL THE FRENCH ALLIANCE, WHICH BROUGHT THE
MATERIAL AND POLITICAL AID INDISPENSABLE TO MILITARY
VICTORY IN 1781. BECAUSE OF THE NATURAL TENDENCY OF
AMERICA'S FOURTH OF JULY ORATORS TO EMPHASIZE THE ROLE
OF THE HOME TEAM, THE DIMENSIONS OF THIS ASSISTANCE
HAVE BECOME SOMEWHAT BLURRED IN THE AMERICAN POPULAR
MIND OVER THE PAST TWO CENTURIES. MOST AMERICANS KNOW
AND JUSTLY REVERE THE NAMES OF THE FRENCH OFFICERS --
THE LAFAYETTES, THE ROCHAMBEAUS, THE DE GRASSES, THE
D'ESTAINGS -- WHO SERVED THE AMERICAN CAUSE; BUT MOST DO
NOT REALIZE THAT ALMOST HALF THE ALLIED FORCE -- THE
FOOTSOLDIERS, NOT JUST THE GALLANT AND TITLED OFFICERS--
COMMANDED BY GEORGE WASHINGTON AT THE BATTLE OF
YORKTOWN WERE FRENCH TROOPS. THERE WAS NOT MUCH
BATTLE AND SINGULARLY LITTLE BLOODSHED AT YORKTOWN.
BUT WHAT LITTLE THERE WAS, WAS SHED LARGELY BY THE
FRENCH, WHOSE CASUALTIES WERE TWICE THOSE OF THE
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AMERICAN FORCES.

6. NONETHELESS, IN DRAWING UP THE BALANCE SHEET OF AMERICAN INDEBTEDNESS TO FRANCE, THE FIRST ENTRY FOR MOST OF MY COUNTRYMEN WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY BE MARIE-JOSEPH GILBERT DU MOTIER, MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE. WITH 42 AMERICAN COMMUNITIES BEARING HIS NAME, LAFAYETTE HAS EMERGED OVER THE PAST TWO CENTURIES AS THE MOST POPULAR AND ENDURING SYMBOL OF FRENCH-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP. FOR AS PAUL CLAUDEL ONCE OBSERVED WHILE HE WAS AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON: "C'EST AU BRAS DE LA NOBLESSE DE FRANCE QUE LA DEMOCRATIE AMERICAINE A FAIT SON ENTREE DANS LE MONDE." IT TOOK GUTS FOR THE YOUNG FRENCH NOBLEMAN TO THROW IN HIS LOT WITH THE REBELLIOUS COLONIES IN EARLY 1777. THE AMERICAN CAUSE WAS SUFFERING REVERSE AFTER REVERSE. FAMILY AND KING WERE FLATLY OPPOSED TO LAFAYETTE'S PLANS TO TAKE UP ARMS FOR THE AMERICAN CAUSE. HE HAD TO SNEAK OUT OF

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FRANCE. UPON HIS ARRIVAL IN AMERICA LAFAYETTE ACQUITTED HIMSELF WITH SUCH DISTINCTION IN HIS FIRST

MILITARY ACTION, THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE, THAT WASHINGTON GAVE HIM COMMAND OF A DIVISION. JUST TURNED 21, HE WAS THE YOUNGEST FIELD COMMANDER IN THE AMERICAN ARMY, AND PROBABLY IN THE WORLD.

7. MEANWHILE THE FRENCH AND SPANISH COURTS, SEEING A CHANCE TO DISCOMFIT THE BRITISH, HAD ALREADY BEGUN TO FUNNEL ARMS CLANDESTINELY TO THE COLONISTS. THEIR COVERT AGENT FOR THIS 18TH CENTURY CIA OPERATION, WHICH EVENTUALLY COST HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY AND HIS CATHOLIC MAJESTY SOME TWO MILLION 'LIVRES', WAS THE PLAYWRIGHT BEAUMARCHAIS. THE INTRICACIES OF THIS OPERATION INVOLVED MORE PLOT CONVOLUTIONS THAN THE BARBER OF SEVILLE AND THE MARRIAGE OF FIGARO COMBINED; BUT BEAUMARCHAIS DELIVERED THE GUNS AND CANNON THE COLONISTS NEEDED. SILAS DEANE, THE AMERICAN PURCHASING AGENT IN EUROPE, WROTE HOME OF BEAUMARCHAIS THAT "THE UNITED STATES ARE, ON EVERY ACCOUNT, GREATLY INDEBTED TO HIM, MORE SO THAN ANY OTHER PERSON ON THIS SIDE OF THE WATER..." DEAN USED THE TERM "INDEBTED" ADVISEDLY, AS THE AMERICANS PAID NOT A CENT FOR ANY OF THIS PRECIOUS HARDWARE.

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8. BUT IT TOOK ANOTHER 18 MONTHS AND THE AMERICAN VICTORY OVER BURGOYNE AT SARATOGA -- A VILLAGE WHICH LOUIS XVI COMPLAINED THAT HE COULD NEITHER FIND ON THE MAP NOR PRONOUNCE -- TO PERSUADE THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT TO FOLLOW LAFAYETTE'S LEAD AND FORMALLY AND OPENLY SUPPORT THE AMERICAN CAUSE. ON DECEMBER 17, 1778, THE KING'S MINISTER, THE COMTE DE VERGENNES, INFORMED BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND SILAS DEANE THAT THE KING'S COUNCIL HAD DECIDED TO RECOGNIZE AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. THIS WAS FOLLOWED A MONTH LATER BY TREATIES OF FRIENDSHIP, COMMERCE AND ALLIANCE. FROM HERE ON THE SCENARIO IS WELL KNOWN:

-- IN THE SUMMER OF 1778 A FRENCH FLEET COMMANDED BY ADMIRAL JEAN-BAPTISE D'ESTAING ENGAGED A BRITISH FLEET OFF NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, BUT A STORM DISPERSED THE TWO FORCES BEFORE A CLEAR-CUT VICTORY COULD BE CLAIMED BY EITHER SIDE.

-- FRANCE PRESENTED A FRENCH SHIP, THE DUC DE DURAS, TO AMERICA'S FIRST NAVAL HERO, JOHN PAUL JONES, WHO RENAMED IT THE "BONHOMME RICHARD" IN HONOR OF FRANKLIN. USING BREST AS HIS BASE, JONES SPENT THE NEXT YEARS PREYING ON HIS MAJESTY'S NAVY AND MERCHANT MARINE.

-- IN 1780 ROCHAMBEAU AND HIS 5000-MAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE DEBARKED AT NEWPORT.

-- AND FINALLY, IN 1781, AFTER THREE YEARS OF MIXED

FORTUNES AND INDECISIVE ENCOUNTERS, A SERIES OF OPPORTUNITIES CONVERGED WHICH PERMITTED THE ALLIES TO DELIVER A DECISIVE BLOW TO THE BRITISH MILITARY POSITION IN NORTH AMERICA -- AT THE TIP OF THE YORKTOWN PENINSULA. THROUGH THE JUDICIOUS DISPOSITION OF THE TROOPS OF WASHINGTON, LAFAYETTE AND ROCHAMBEAU AND THE SHIPS OF ADMIRAL DE GRASSE, THE TRAP WAS LAID AND SPRUNG. AFTER A MONTH'S SIEGE, THE BRITISH COMMANDINO GENERAL, CORNWALLIS, OUTMANNED AND SURROUNDED ON LAND AND BLOCKADED AT SEA, SURRENDERED. ALTHOUGH THE TREATY OF PARIS WHICH FORMALLY RATIFIED THIS VICTORY WAS NOT SIGNED UNTIL TWO YEARS LATER, THE BATTLE OF YORKTOWN ASSURED AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

9. BUT THE FRENCH CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE DID NOT BEGIN WITH LAFAYETTE'S VALOR ON THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BRANDYWINE OR BEAUMARCHAIS' CLOAK-AND-DAGGER GUN-RUNNING. IT DATES BACK AT LEAST A HALF-CENTURY EARLIER, TO THE POLITICAL THEORIES OF THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PHILOSOPHES, WHICH PROVIDED SPARKS AND FUEL FOR THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. FOR IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AS TODAY, FRANCE MAINTAINED A PRE-EMINENT POSITION IN THE EXPORT OF IDEAS, THE LEAST PERISHABLE OF COMMODITIES. IDEAS ARE IMMORTAL; THEIR IMPRINT CAN NEVER ENTIRELY BE ERASED. AS A GREAT AMERICAN JURIST, OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, ONCE REMARKED, "THE HUMAN MIND, ONCE STRETCHED BY A NEW IDEA, CAN NEVER RETURN TO ITS ORIGINAL SHAPE." AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION WAS A REVOLUTION INFUSED BY MIND TO A DEGREE NEVER APPROXIMATED BEFORE OR SINCE -- BY MIND, NOT DOGMA. BUT, OF COURSE, REVOLUTIONS ARE NOT MADE BY MIND ALONE. ALL REVOLUTIONS UNLEASH TIDES OF PASSION AND THE AMERICAN REBELLION WAS NO EXCEPTION. BUT THESE PASSIONS WERE, TO AN UNPRECEDENTED DEGREE,

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SUBORDINATED TO SERIOUS, NUANCED THINKING ABOUT THE FUNDAMENTALS OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY. THE PAMPHLETS, SERMONS AND NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS OF THE DAY WERE EXTRAORDINARILY "ACADEMIC," IN THE BEST SENSE OF THE TERM -- THAT IS LEARNED, SOBER AND THOUGHTFUL IN TONE. FIRED BY A GRIEVANCE MORE SORROWFUL THAN ANGRY, AND GUIDED BY A RATIONAL APPRECIATION OF THE REALITIES AND AVAILABLE OPTIONS, THE AMERICAN REBELLION IN COMPARISON WITH LATER REVOLUTIONS SEEMS AN ALMOST UTOPIC MODEL, A TEXT-BOOK CASE STUDY OF A SUCCESSFUL AND HUMANE REVOLUTION. THE MEN WHO MADE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION WERE THE SAME WHO WENT ON TO CREATE ITS NEW POLITICAL STRUCTURES, WHO THEN FILLED THE HIGHEST ELECTED POSITIONS IN THOSE STRUCTURES, AND WHO THEN ALL DIED IN BED. AS PROFESSOR LYNN MONTROSE (THE RELUCTANT REBELS) OBSERVED: "THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION REMAINS THE ONLY GREAT POLITICAL UPHEAVAL IN HISTORY WHICH ACHIEVED ALL ITS AIMS WITHOUT THE EXECUTION OF A SINGLE OPPONENT FOR HIS POLITICAL BELIEFS." A WAR WAS FOUGHT, TO BE SURE, AND SOLDIERS DIED IN THAT WAR. BUT THE RULES OF CIVILIZED WARFARE, AS THEN ESTABLISHED, WERE OBSERVED BY BOTH SIDES. THERE WAS NONE OF THE BUTCHERY WE HAVE COME TO ACCEPT AS A NATURAL COROLLARY OF REVOLUTIONS -- AND NONE OF THE OFF-BATTLEFIELD SAVAGERY WHICH HAS BLOODIED THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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RECORDS OF LATER REBELLIONS; NO TRIBUNALS DISPENSING 'REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE'; NO REIGN OF TERROR; NO BLOOD-THIRSTY PROCLAMATIONS BY THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS. IT WAS INDEED A REVOLUTION WHICH ENTHRONED A GOVERNMENT OF LAWS RATHER THAN A TYRANNY OF MEN. AS DE TOCQUEVILLE LATER REMARKED, THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

"CONTRACTED NO ALLIANCE WITH THE TURBULENT PASSIONS OF ANARCHY, BUT ITS COURSE WAS MARKED, ON THE CONTRARY BY A LOVE OF LAW AND ORDER..." A LAW-AND-ORDER REVOLUTION? YES, AND A VERY RELUCTANT REVOLUTION AT THAT -- BECAUSE ITS MAKERS WOULD HAVE PREFERRED A PEACEFUL SOLUTION WITHIN THE BRITISH EMPIRE TO TOTAL SEPARATION BY FORCE. ITS LEADERS DID NOT DELIBERATELY SET OUT TO FORGE AN IDEAL SOCIETY IN THE FIRES OF WAR. RATHER THEY RESTED THEIR CASE ON THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION, DEMANDING THAT THEIR RIGHTS AS ENGLISHMEN BE RESTORED. THEY WERE REVOLUTIONARIES NOT BY CHOICE BUT BY LACK OF CHOICE. THEY OPTED SLOWLY AND WITH DEEPEST RESERVATIONS FOR SEPARATION ONLY AFTER DECADES OF LARGELY NON-VIOLENT EFFORTS HAD FAILED, LEAVING THEM NO ALTERNATIVE. FOR THEM REVOLUTION WAS A CRUEL AND BITTER MEANS TO A NECESSARY END WHEN ALL ELSE HAD FAILED.

10. HAVING ACHIEVED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, WHAT DID THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DO WITH IT? THEY FOLLOWED THE MODEL OF THE WORLD'S OLDEST SYSTEM OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AND INSTALLED IT UNDER THE WORLD'S OLDEST WRITTEN CONSTITUTION. THE LONGEVITY OF THE FORMER RESULTS FROM THE BASIC SOUNDNESS AND FLEXIBILITY OF THE LATTER WITH ITS HEAVY BORROWING FROM THE IDEAS OF MONTESQUIEU. THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION IS A REMARKABLE CONSTRUCTION, COMBINING FAITH IN MAN'S ENLIGHTENED SELF-INTEREST IN GOOD GOVERNMENT, WITH A HARD-HEADED RECOGNITION OF HUMAN FRAILTIES. THE FOUNDING FATHERS FEARED THE ROUSED MAJORITY AS MUCH AS THE POWERFUL MINORITY, AND BUILT IN SAFEGUARDS AGAINST BOTH. TO ALLOW THE NEW HOMO AMERICANUS TO FULFILL HIMSELF, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME PROTECTING HIM FROM HIMSELF, POWER WAS GRUDGINGLY PARCELLED OUT AMONG COUNTERBALANCING AUTHORITIES -- EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATIVE, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND JUDICIAL -- THROUGHOUT THE MYRIAD LAYERS OF GOVERNMENT STRETCHING FROM CITY HALL, THROUGH COUNTY COURT HOUSES AND STATE CAPITALS, TO THE NATIONAL CAPITAL IN WASHINGTON: FEDERALISM, SEPARATION OF POWERS, 'CHECKS AND BALANCES.' BUT PERHAPS THE MOST ORIGINAL ELEMENT IN THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION WAS ITS ASTUTE INTERTWINING OF "DEMOCRATIC" AND "REPUBLICAN" PRINCIPLES. WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE? IN A 'DEMOCRACY,' THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE IS SUPREME. IN A 'REPUBLIC' A RATIONAL CONSENSUS, IMPLICIT IN THE PHRASE "CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED," IS THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE. IN A 'REPUBLIC', WHILE EQUALITY AND THE WELL-BEING OF THE CITIZENRY ARE CONSIDERED IMPORTANT, LIBERTY IS SEEN AS THE MOST IMPORTANT

GOAL OF GOVERNMENT. IN A 'DEMOCRACY' THESE PRIORITIES
ARE REVERSED. THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IS AN
ARCHETYPICAL "DEMOCRATIC" INSTITUTION, THE SUPREME COURT
A "REPUBLICAN" ONE. (I USE BOTH TERMS, OF COURSE, IN
THEIR LOWER-CASE SENSE.)

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11. BUT THE FOUNDING FATHERS, JUDGING THE NEW NATION
TOO LARGE, TOO HETEROGENEOUS, AND TOO DYNAMIC TO BE
GOVERNED ALONG EITHER STRICT 'DEMOCRATIC' OR STRICT
'REPUBLICAN' PRINCIPLES, COMBINED THEM IN A NEW AND
INGENIOUS WAY. THEY HAVE EXISTED SYMBIOTICALLY EVER
SINCE, MAKING THE UNITED STATES TODAY THE MOST
DEMOCRATIC OF REPUBLICS, AND THE MOST REPUBLICAN OF
DEMOCRACIES. THIS DEMOCRATIC/REPUBLICAN HYBRID, THE
AMERICAN CONSTITUTION, WHICH HEDGES ITS RISKS THROUGH
ITS REMARKABLE ADAPTABILITY TO CHANGING NEEDS, HAS
PROVIDED EIGHT GENERATIONS OF AMERICANS WITH SOME OF
THE BEST GOVERNMENTS DISPENSED ON THIS PLANET. THE
BLESSINGS OF GOOD GOVERNMENT WERE NOT, HOWEVER,
IMMEDIATE, TOTAL, OR PERFECT. NOT ALL AMERICANS, AND
NOTABLY NOT ALL ETHNIC MINORITIES, HAVE BENEFITTED --
OR BENEFIT TODAY -- FULLY AND EQUALLY FROM THE SYSTEM.
A CONTINUAL BROADENING OF THESE BENEFITS IS ONE OF THE

TASKS TO WHICH AMERICANS RE-DEDICATE OURSELVES AS
WE ENTER OUR THIRD CENTURY AS A NATION.

12. OVER THE PAST TWO CENTURIES FRANCE AND OTHER
WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAVE ALSO MOVED TOWARD
REPRESENTATIVE SOCIETIES WHICH REFLECT HIGH, IF
VARYING, DEGREES OF PERSONAL LIBERTY, MATERIAL WELL-
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BEING, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. BUT THE EUROPEAN
DEMOCRACIES ARRIVED THERE FROM A DIFFERENT DIRECTION.
IN 1776 THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SEIZED SOVEREIGNTY AND
HAVE RETAINED IT JEALOUSLY FOR TWO CENTURIES. THIS
SOVEREIGNTY WAS RETURNED TO GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS
PARTIALLY, GRUDGINGLY AND ONLY IN RESPONSE TO PROVEN
NEED. WITH RARE EXCEPTION, THE QUESTION THROUGHOUT
OUR HISTORY HAS NOT BEEN WHETHER THE AMERICAN GOVERN-
MENT HAD TOO MUCH POWER, BUT HOW TO FIND SUFFICIENT
POWER -- UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OR BY AMENDMENT TO IT
-- TO RESPOND TO THE DEMANDS OF THE PEOPLE FOR IN-
CREASED GOVERNMENT SERVICES. THE LIMITS OF U.S.
CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY ARE CURRENTLY SEEN IN ITS
INABILITY TO FORCE THE NEW YORK PORT AUTHORITY TO
GRANT LANDING RIGHTS TO CONCORDE AT KENNEDY AIRPORT.
IS THIS A POWERFUL AND SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENT? PERHAPS
NOT, BUT IT IS THE INSTRUMENT OF A POWERFUL AND
SOVEREIGN PEOPLE.

13. IF THEN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY IS
THAT OF THE PROGRESSIVE CESSION OF AUTHORITY FROM THE
PEOPLE TO THE GOVERNMENT, THE HISTORY OF WESTERN
EUROPE DURING THE SAME PERIOD IS A RECORD OF THE
PEOPLE STRUGGLING TO WREST AUTHORITY FROM AN ENTRENCHED
GOVERNING ESTABLISHMENT. AND ONLY IN THIS CENTURY
HAVE SOME WESTERN EUROPEANS GAINED A MEASURE OF THE
LIBERTY WHICH AMERICANS HAVE TAKEN AS THEIR BIRTHRIGHT
SINCE 1776 AND THE FRENCH SINCE 1789.

14. BUT PAST IS PREFACE. WHAT PROBLEMS HAS IT
SERVED UP FOR THE FUTURE? AMERICANS ENTER THEIR THIRD
CENTURY AS AN INDEPENDENT NATION ASTRIDE A PARADOX.
FOR NEVER IN ITS HISTORY HAS THE UNITED STATES BEEN
MORE DEEPLY OR IRREVOCABLY INTERDEPENDENT WITH THE REST
OF THE GLOBE. CAN THIS PARADOX BE RESOLVED WITHOUT
SACRIFICING THE PERSONAL FREEDOMS AND WAYS OF LIFE
WHICH AMERICANS CHERISH? IS INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY
COMPATIBLE WITH THE COMPLEX, CROWDED, TECHNOLOGY-
SATURATED WORLD LOOMING ON THE HORIZON OF THE
21ST CENTURY? IS THE DELIBERATELY FRAGMENTED, POWER-
DISPERSED AMERICAN POLITICAL STRUCTURE EQUAL TO THE

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CHALLENGES THAT LIE AHEAD? CAN THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT
SURVIVE AND PROSPER?

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15. IT CAN BECAUSE ITS GUIDING PRINCIPLE -- THAT
SOVEREIGNTY RESTS WITH THE PEOPLE -- REMAINS THE ONLY
RATIONAL BASIS OF GOVERNMENT. ONLY A REPRESENTATIVE
SOCIETY, CAPABLE OF RAPID AND PEACEFUL EVOLUTION, CAN
MEET THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE IN ALL OF ITS MULTIPLE
FORMS. THE UNITED STATES IS A DEVELOPING COUNTRY,
EXPERIMENTING, GROWING, ERRING AND LEARNING FROM
ERROR, STILL GROPING TOWARDS THE FUTURE WITH OUT-
STRETCHED ARMS. AMERICANS DO NOT FEAR CHANGE; THEY
CAPITALIZE ON IT.

16. OUR REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT MUST AND WILL
PROSPER BECAUSE THE FUNDAMENTALS OF AMERICAN
DEMOCRACY ARE SOUND: MODERATION, PRAGMATISM AND A
VIGILANT DISTRUST OF EXCESSIVE CONCENTRATION OF
POWER, WHETHER IN PUBLIC OR PRIVATE HANDS. IF WE
AMERICANS ARE VULNERABLE, WHEN HAVE WE NOT BEEN?

HAVE OUR PRINCIPLES, WHEN WE HAVE LIVED UP TO THEM,
EVER FAILED US? THEY HAVE NOT.

17. IN 1976 AS IN 1776 AMERICANS MUST BUILD THE
FUTURE UPON HOPE AND CONFIDENCE, NOT FEAR AND
DISUNITY. WE MUST NOT BE DISCOURAGED THAT IN 200
YEARS THE HEROIC 'OVERPROMISE' AND 'OVERSTATEMENT'
OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE HAVE NOT BEEN
FULLY REALIZED. THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
AFTER ALL IS CHAPTER ONE OF THE AMERICAN DREAM,
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PERPETUALLY RENEWED AND REKINDLED AFTER EACH FAILURE
OR ATTAINMENT. AND BEING A DREAM IT CAN NEVER
TOTALLY BE FULFILLED. "ELSE, WHAT'S A HEAVEN FOR?"

18. AS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ENTERS ITS THIRD CENTURY
ITS SPIRIT MUST BE, IN NO TRITE SENSE, THAT OF 1776;
IT WILL SEE US THROUGH THE DIFFICULT YEARS AHEAD AS
IT HAS THROUGH OTHER TROUBLED PERIODS OF OUR
HISTORY. THE NATION'S 'BIRTH CERTIFICATE', THE
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, IS TESTIMONY OF
AMERICANS' ABILITY TO UNITE, TO OVERCOME, AND TO
INSPIRE THE FUTURE. IN JULY 1776 COMMON PURPOSE
PREVAILED OVER PARTISAN INTERESTS, NATIONAL UNITY
TRIUMPHED OVER REGIONAL CHAUVINISM, 'SELF-EVIDENT
TRUTHS' PREVAILED OVER OBSOLETE POLITICAL LOYALTIES,
AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WAS BORN. IT HAS
SURVIVED AND PROSPERED BEYOND THE MOST UTOPIC
ASPIRATIONS OF ITS FOUNDERS. IN THIS, THE TWO-
HUNDREDTH YEAR OF ITS BIRTH, I HOPE YOU WILL JOIN
WITH ME IN WISHING IT 'MANY HAPPY RETURNS' AND
GODSPEED.

19. THANK YOU.
RUSH

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